3: Bouton--1 M-4 (no date) 1640 ST13 Callinago ST13
(ca. 1630)

Concerning the Savages Called Caribs

1. Religion

It is not possible to state the true number of the Caribs on Martinique, because they are continually and actively visiting and passing among those of Dominica and the other islands. Sometimes there are many Caribs here and sometimes fewer. It is true that fear and distrust of the French has caused many of them to leave this island, although we are not at war with them (unlike the French of Guadeloupe). No religion is recognized among them. Like the Canadian Indians they have some recognition of the immortality of the soul, because for a few days they give to the souls of the dead clothes, food, and small belongings for their use. I believe that they do not trouble themselves with knowing what becomes of these souls; at least we have never been able to draw this information out of them. Possibly we should learn more if we were to live among them or they among us. At the present time they are greatly separated from us by inaccessible hills, so that we see them rarely and only when they come by sea to trade with the French.

They know by experience, at their cost, that there are spirits, and also the devil whom they call maboya, who sometimes beats them to death. The devil is not strong among them while they are with the French, but when they return they are cruelly tormented as punishment by the devil because of their visit. They also admit that the sign of the cross is able to ward off the maboya. Most of them have an opening in their houses through which they say he enters and leaves. They do not render him any honor that I know, nor offer him sacrifice. They also recognize a god which they call chemin who does not treat them any better than the maboya does. It is necessary that someone among them have a special communication with this spirit because he predicts future events which they can only learn through him. For example, they day before we arrived an old Carib woman told a Frenchman that a great French ship would arrive the next day. What she said was true.

They say that there is a serpent in Dominica which has the power of making itself large or small and that it has a ruby or gem of the same luster in the middle of its forehead. It takes this gem off when

it wants to drink and puts it back afterwards. No one may go or dares to go and see it in its cavern unless he has fasted for three days and abstains from his wife. Otherwise he should not be able to see it, or he would be in danger of being bewitched by it, that is to say, killed.

2. Clothing

The Caribs go entirely naked without shame, the women as well as the men. I have scolded a captain for this but he only answered: "That no good for France, good for Carib." They use urucu [rocou; body paint] to redden their bodies which would otherwise be the color of olives. The women sometimes have a kind of legging which extends from the knee to ankle and which they consider to be fashionable. Men and women wear, when they have them, necklaces of glass beads or crystal, or small, well-matched bones.

There is a man whom we called the Pilot who among them is considered to be one of their foremost captains and is an old friend and loyal to the French. When this man came to visit the governor he wore a hat on his head as a sign that he was beloved and esteemed by the French. The others were as bare-headed as they were naked. They bound their hair, which was not too long, behind their head, and passed through it feathers of the aras [macaw?], flamingo, and other birds. These feathers hung from behind, and they also fastened in the same place some trinkets in their manner. They had plucked their beards. Arlet, a brother of the Pilot, and himself a captain, had some small pieces of brass hanging from his lip, chin, and nose.

3. Occupations

Women are unhappy and are treated as slaves, for it is required of them to work in the gardens, tend the family duties, and do everything except go to war, fish, or hunt. If there should be large trees to fell the husband will sometimes take the trouble to do it. They have many wives, whom they take and leave as they wish. They treat them very badly and sometimes kill them, having as a people no justice and no superior authority. Each one does as he wishes and is acquitted of the most horrible crimes if he says that he was "drunk

T87 B1 killed an innocent man instead of the man who was guilty. The relatives of the innocent man who had been so unfortunately murdered decided to take revenge, without considering that his death was caused by mistake rather than through malice. They reddened cotton with blood from the man who had been murdered and placed it with human bones. It was immediately seen that the murderer began to lose his healthy appearance. After a gradual decline in health and wasting away over a span of two years, he died just as he was planning to come to Guadaloupe and receive baptism from Father Raymond [Breton] who was staying there at that time.

T87 532 The Caribs have ugly little dolls of cotton, and it is said that the devil speaks to them through the doll's mouth. They throw them into the sea when they plan to take a sea journey and if they sink to the bottom it is a sign of storm and of risk. If they float on the water it is taken as certain prediction of fine weather.

●778 Mr. du Parquet, Lieutenant General for His Majesty in Martinique, assured me that the Caribs of the island had found in the caverns certain idols made of cotton and shaped like men. They had small grains of sea savonet in place of eyes and wore a kind of cotton cap on their heads. The Caribs affirmed that these were the gods belonging to the Igneri whom they had massacred. But no Carib dared to enter that cavern, and they trembled with fear when they approached it.

Mr. du Parquet having heard about it sent some of his people with the order to take these idols out and bring them to his house. The Caribs found out about the plan and were so terrified that they told their fears to the French who became uneasy, [with the result that] the first two to step into this cavern passed out in a faint. They were carried out half dead and the others dared go no farther. A little later braver people were sent who had not talked to the Caribs, and they entered the cave and secretly removed the idols.

These idols were the cause of a strange adventure which happened to a captain from St. Malo. Mr. du Parquet put the idols into a wooden box and gave them to this captain, without telling him what it was. He gave him [the captain] the order to send the box to the late Duke of Orleans with letters which he also gave him for this Prince. This poor captain, having been unlucky enough to be captured by a frigate out of San Sebastián, was taken to Spain. The

778 idols were discovered in his possession and he was given over to the Inquisition. He would have inevitably experienced the rigors due a sorcerer had not the letters written to His Royal Highness by Mr. du Parquet clearly pointed out his innocence.

They also make certain small wooden statues said to be figures of maboyas, who reveal themselves to the Caribs by tormenting them. They wear them suspended around their neck. They wear them to halt, or at least diminish, the outrages of these cruel tyrants, rather than from a desire to serve the maboyas in a cult. Actually all the duties which are demanded by the ichéiris as well as by the maboyas through their boyes seem to be striking imitations of what happens when witches revel on their Sabbath, rather than acts of true religion. Father Raymond [Breton] states in his dictionary that they blame all of the evils which happen to them on the gods of the boyes, on the maboyas, and on the sorcerers. They fear the first more than they love them. They hate the second, and they very often take revenge on the third, often times for very little reason.

526 When there is an eclipse of the moon they believe that a maboya
521 is eating it. This causes them to dance all night, the young and old alike, men and women, hopping with their feet together, one hand on their head and the other on their buttocks. They dance without singing but intermittently they howl certain dismal and appealing screams into the air. Once they have started to dance they are obliged to continue until dawn without daring to stop the dance no matter what the necessity may be. While dancing, a girl takes in her hand
534 a calabash filled with small pebbles, and shaking it she tries to fit her coarse voice in with this uproar. This dance is different from those which they do when they get drunk, because the one reflects superstition and the other rejoicing.

785 It is also necessary to include among superstitions the fast which they observe for a variety of reasons. For example, they fast when a girl has reached the age of puberty, or a boy enters adolescence, or when children have lost their father or mother, or when a husband has lost his wife or a wife a husband, or when they have killed some of their enemies in war. However, the most solemn of their fasts is undertaken by newly married couples who have a boy for a first child. They sometimes spend five or six days without eating or drinking,

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

when not wearing the caracoli described below. During ceremonies men 304
scarified their bodies, later staining the scars black. Native-born women were distinguished from captives by wearing anklets made of basketry interwoven with cotton. The anklets were assumed at puberty, and as the wearers grew they became tighter and caused the ankles to swell.

Ornaments.—Both sexes wore bracelets made of cotton or of beads 301
of stone, crystal, bone, seed, coral, shell, or a pearllike substance obtained in shells. Men placed these bracelets around their upper arms and women around the wrists. Both men and women often wore necklaces and girdles of the same materials; it was from the girdles that women hung their aprons. Men sometimes inserted teeth and bones from the enemies they had killed into their necklaces and bracelets. On their chests both [778]
sexes hung small amulets of wood or stone carved to represent their maboya (evil spirits) and designed to frighten away other malevolent powers. Small gourd fetishes, containing bird claws and bits of jaguar skin obtained on the mainland, were also used as pendants.

The most prized possession of the men was the caracoli, a crescent-shaped alloy of gold and copper framed in wood, which the warriors obtained during raids upon the continental *Arawak* (pl. 93). Some of these caracoli were small and served as ear, nose, or mouth pendants; others were large enough to be worn on the chest. They were a sign of [534]
high rank, being passed down from generation to generation, and were worn only upon ceremonial occasions and during journeys. Certain stone necklaces, the material for which was obtained on the mainland, were also [755]
prized. They were said to have had healing virtue and were worn only during feasts. Upon ceremonial occasions men decorated their hair with feather caps and crowns and their backs with jaguar skins; some rubbed their bodies with gum and sprinkled feathers upon them.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Carib* were expert in the management of boats, of which they had 501
four types: pirogues, large canoes, small canoes, and rafts. Both the pirogues and the canoes were dugouts, but the sides of the former were built up with planks, sewn together and pitched with bitumen. The average length of the pirogue was 40 feet (12 m.); some were large enough to carry 50 persons. Each one had a keel, a raised and pointed bow, a series of plank seats, and a flat-pooped stern carved with an animal's head (maboya) to frighten the enemy and often decorated with a barbecued human arm. The larger variety of canoe was 20 feet (6 m.) long. It, too, had a series of seats and also thwarts against which the paddlers leaned their backs. Both the stem and the stern were high and pointed; there were holes in the gunwales to which the travelers could attach their belongings. The smaller type of canoe was just large enough for one

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

773 When the people were troubled by the depredations of rats, P'tit François would invoke their king, and demand—it is said with success—that His Ratty Majesty keep his subjects in order.

A fragment of what I believe to be a very old legend was recounted to me by Fanfan as something that actually happened in the days of this wonderful chief.

At that time there lived in Salybia two brothers called Màruka and Cimanàri, famous for the charms they made. They would go up to the house of the Tête-Chien [1] to find the Master Tête-Chien—the same who, when the earth was soft, made the Stairway of the Tête-Chien at Cinéku.[2] He is big, big, big, has a crest of diamond on his head, and crows just like a cock. Well, when they found him, they would take powdered tobacco and burn it before him on the blade of a paddle. Then that tête-chien would vomit, and all that he vomited was red "l'envers caraïbe".[3] After that the snake would disappear gradually, and in his place came a young man "sans culotte" (naked). The young man said nothing about his being the Tête-Chien, but asked Màruka and Cimanàri what it was they wanted, and instructed them, when they had told him, how they must use the envers caraïbe to make their charms.

Màruka and Cimanàri did not die in Salybia. When they felt old age approaching they went away to the other country. When they reached the shores of the Orinoco River they plunged into the stream, and when they came out on the opposite bank they had become two young lads again, and on the water where they had been there floated two turtle shells.

They never came back to Dominica, and at last one of them died; but the other, as far as I know, is still living there.

778 [131] Leaving the Stairway of the Tête-Chien, and going northward by way of the Maho, Gaulette, Salybia, and Crayfish Rivers almost to the present northern boundary of the Reserve, we come to the little hamlet of Bataka (or Baraïçi), nestling on the hillside 15 minutes hard climb above the "highway." Most of the full-blooded Caribs remaining are to be found here today. The people of Bataka are not very well liked by the other Caribs, among whom they have a name for treachery and for practicing "piaïs," even against one another.

On the extremity of a narrow ridge opposite and beyond Bataka is perched a huge rock, itself some 60 feet in height, that overlooks the valley of the Pegoua, the ocean, and the Reserve. It is composed of a blackish, crumbling rock, and on its summit and from its precipitous sides grow vines and plants, a stunted scrub, and a kind of wild orchid. It is known as La Roche Pegoua, and is the home of a benevolent spirit about whom many tales are told, one of which is related below.

[1] Tête-Chien: "dog-headed" Antillean constrictor, small boa attaining up to 12 feet in length and the thickness of a man's thigh. Carib: wa-na-çal.

[2] House of Tête-Chien; so-called. Rocky cliff in the heights of the Coumany River, said to be much frequented by these snakes. Legendary home of the giant snake of this and other legends, said to have had a precious stone (variously called carbuncle, diamond) of extraordinary brilliance on its head, and which it was capable of covering with a sort of movable membrane, or eyelid, thus creating at will light or darkness in the forest. The Stairway of the Tête-Chien, so-called, is a formation of soft gritty or rotten rock of reddish color and apparently volcanic origin, which emerges from the soil on the crest of the ridge called Cinéku, above the Akayu River, and proceeds in a series of "steps" down the side of the cliff to the sea, under which it continues and can be followed from a boat for quite a distance.

[3] L'envers caraïbe: a species of red maranta whose roots are said to "plait," and which is used only for charms. When planting, it is usual to place a piece of silver in the ground along with it. Has become rare.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

The people of Bataka used to go up to the Pegoua Rock in search of charms. There are steps leading to the base of the rock, and, on its top, a crack that goes through to the inside. That is where the zombie lives, but if ever you see him it means some one is going to die soon. On the top of the rock there grow all manner of charms, but in particular you may sometimes find there a white flower (surette de montagne?) with so sweet a smell that people passing on the highway at the foot of the cliff may easily perceive it. When it is flowering a new blossom comes every hour of the day and every hour another fades and falls. If you are lucky enough to get one of these flowers you may command with it whom you will. You have only to rub it on the palm of your hand, then raise the hand in the direction of a person and speak his name. However far away he may be he will have to obey and come to you. If you go in quest of the flower it is wise to take a white cock, or at least some powdered tobacco, as a gift to the spirit of the rock. 778 825

There was one old woman of Bataka whose husband treated her badly and neglected her to run after other women. One day when he was gone fishing she made a lot, a big lot, of cassava bread; and, taking her children with her, went up to the Pegoua Rock, where she was lucky enough to get one of these flowers. With it she went down to the river to bathe, and when she had bathed she rubbed the flower all over her body and flung the remnants to the winds, saying: "Go join your master", which they did, disappearing in that same instant. After this, she and her children took the highway, and went quickly in the direction of Toulamon, now called Londonderry. Soon after they had passed the Cachibona River she heard her husband coming after her with the fish (presumably as a peace offering), but taking her children by the hand she ran and ran until they reached the old Caserne Caraïbe (literally, Carib Barracks, but perhaps a mistake for "caverne", a deep cave on the shore between the village of Wesley, or La Soie, and the Londonderry Estate, showing signs of human occupancy, or at least, frequentation). Here she knocked and was admitted just as her husband caught up and made a grab at her. Once safely inside, she shouted to him to go away, as she needed him no longer. There was nothing else for him to do; but as he turned to go he was changed into a bird with yellow beak and claws, called Pierrot Vanter, whose shrill persistent call you will often hear even today. The woman is still inside the cave, together with all the other old Caribs. They will not leave it until the end of the world, though it is said they sometimes come out at night to use their boat (an islet about a hundred yards off shore), for one night I passed there myself as I was going fishing, and when I returned the same way some 2 hours later it had disappeared. 773

I was told that for the last 20 years at least nobody had attempted to scale the rock, as the white cedar which had grown nearby and helped in the ascent had long since been felled by a windstorm. However, Carib ingenuity and agility overcame all difficulties. A slender sapling whose stem rose some 8 feet distant from the sides of the rock served as prop for a crooked stick, hewn and tied in place from materials growing on the spot, whose other end was made to rest on a narrow projecting ledge opposite and above. This precarious bridge once passed, the summit was reached by holding onto handfuls of plant and vine, or onto knobs of crumbling rock. Alas, I did not find the flower. It may be that it was the wrong season, but, in any case, I certainly should not have been so stupid as to forget that white cock. 778 [481]